

# **Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter**

herausgegeben von  
Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska,  
Niklot Krohn und Sebastian Ristow

**Band 2**

# **Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter 2**

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Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska, Niklot Krohn und Sebastian Ristow

# **Macht des Goldes, Gold der Macht**

Herrschafts- und Jenseitsrepräsentation  
zwischen Antike und Frühmittelalter im mittleren Donaauraum

Akten des 23. Internationalen Symposiums der Grundprobleme  
der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donaauraum,  
Tengelic, 16.–19.11.2011

herausgegeben von  
Matthias Hardt und Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska

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## Grußwort

Das Wosinsky Mór-Museum, der regionale Veranstalter des 23. Kolloquiums der „Grundprobleme der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum“ vom 16. bis zum 19. November 2011 in Tengelice, erfüllt seit 1895 seine Aufgaben in der Stadt Szekszárd und im Komitat Tolna. Die Archäologie besaß in unserem Haus durch die Bodendenkmalpflege und das Ausstellungswesen von Beginn an einen hohen Stellenwert. Mehrere Direktoren, darunter auch der Gründer Mór Wosinsky (1854–1907), setzten sich intensiv für die archäologische Erforschung der Region ein. Die schönsten und bedeutendsten Funde dieser über 100 Jahre andauernden Sammeltätigkeit lassen sich in der archäologischen Dauerausstellung unseres Museums bewundern.

Aus diesem Grund ist es immer eine besondere Freude, archäologische Fachkonferenzen in unserem Komitat begrüßen zu dürfen. Das Kolloquium „Macht des Goldes - Gold der Macht. Herrschafts- und Jenseitspräsentation zwischen Antike und Frühmittelalter im mittleren Donauraum“ erlaubte uns einen internationalen Kollegenkreis aus den Ländern Mittel- und Ostmitteleuropas willkommen zu heißen. Ausrichter dieser Konferenz zu sein, erfüllte uns mit besonderem Stolz, zumal diese traditionsreiche Veranstaltungsreihe zum ersten Mal in Ungarn tagte. Wir möchten daher für die Kooperation danken, die uns das Geisteswissenschaftliche Zentrum Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas an der Universität Leipzig ermöglichte, ebenso allen weiteren Institutionen aus Österreich, Polen, Tschechien und der Slowakei, die sich an der Tagung organisatorisch und finanziell beteiligten.

Das Kolloquium widmete sich einer der größten Faszinationen in der Kulturgeschichte, dem Gold, und stellte sich die Frage, welche Bedeutung dieses Edelmetall für die Herrschaftsbildung in der Zeit der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters besaß. Unser Komitat liegt auf dem Gebiet der einstigen römischen Provinz Pannonien, an der Donau, die zu diesem Zeitpunkt als Limes die nordöstliche Außengrenze des Römischen Reiches bildete. Das Gebiet erfuhr während der anschließenden Völkerwanderungszeit eine wechselvolle Geschichte, die durch die Aufeinanderfolge verschiedener, nach Westen und Süden vorstoßender Gruppen geprägt war. Einzelne Gräber dieser Zeitphase, wohl die der ehemaligen Führungsschichten, waren reich an Gold und Edelsteinen, wie u. a. das Beispiel des Grabes von Regöly zeigt. Diese Bestattung einer Frau aus dem 5. Jahrhundert wurde 1967 entdeckt und seither in mehreren internationalen Ausstellungen gezeigt. Die Schmuckstücke des Grabes dürften an der Wende vom 4. zum 5.

## Grußwort

Jahrhundert in einer Werkstatt im Pontus-Gebiet hergestellt worden sein und verdeutlichen die weitreichenden Verbindungen, die diese frühen Eliten an der mittleren Donau unterhielten.

Auch die Ausgrabungen der letzten zwei Jahrzehnte, die im Rahmen des Autobahnbaus und anderer großer Investitionen im Komitat Tolna durchgeführt worden sind, verdeutlichen, dass dieses Territorium besonders reich ist an Funden und Befunden aus der Zeit nach der Aufgabe der römischen Provinz Pannonien – also aus dem späten 5. und aus dem 6. Jahrhundert. Das Fundmaterial deutet zudem auf eine Vielfalt an kulturellen Beziehungen der hier ansässigen völkerwanderungszeitlichen *gentes*, Alanen, Hunnen, Ostgoten und Langobarden hin.

Die Konferenz fand in Tengelice statt, in demselben, wenn auch inzwischen renovierten Hotelgebäude, welches bereits rund 20 Jahre zuvor ein internationales Team aus Archäologen beherbergte. Die Beiträge dieser 1989 abgehaltenen Konferenz, die sich überwiegend dem awarenzeitlichen Karpatenbecken widmete, wurden in unserem Jahrbuch (Wosinszky Mór Muz. Évk. 15) veröffentlicht. Es ist sehr erfreulich, dass mit dem vorliegenden Band auch die Ergebnisse der Tagung des Jahres 2011 zeitnah der wissenschaftlichen Öffentlichkeit vorgelegt werden und damit den Ruf unseres Museums auf internationaler Ebene stärken.

Ich hoffe sehr, dass das angenehme Ambiente in Tengelice und die Tagesexkursion nach Szekszárd, Paks und Pécs allen Teilnehmern gut in der Erinnerung bleiben wird. Ich möchte allen Kolleginnen und Kollegen für die kompetenten Vorträge und für die intensive Diskussion danken.

Szekszárd, April 2013

János Gábor Ódor  
Direktor des Wosinsky Mór-Museums, Szekszárd



Das Wosinsky Mór-Museum, Szekszárd.





## Vorwort

Der zweite Band der Reihe „Forschungen zu Spätantike und Mittelalter“ stellt die Beiträge des 23. internationalen Symposiums zu „Grundproblemen der frühgeschichtlichen Entwicklung im mittleren Donauraum“ zusammen, das unter dem Titel des vorliegenden Buches im Jahr 2011 in Tengelic, Ungarn, veranstaltet wurde.

In der über zwanzig Jahre währenden Geschichte der „Grundprobleme“ kam der Kreis der an den einschlägigen Forschungsgebieten Interessierten zum ersten Mal nach Ungarn, in das Land, das eine der Kernregionen des mittleren Donauraumes bildet. Die Veranstaltung des Kolloquiums wurde durch die Einladung des Direktors des *Wosinszky Mór*-Museums in Szekszárd, durch János Gábor Ódor ermöglicht. Ihm ist auch die Idee zu verdanken, die Tagung in die Region zwanzig Kilometer nördlich von Szekszárd, in ein ausgezeichnetes Tagungshotel in Tengelic zu verlagern, wo bereits 1989 eine internationale Konferenz über „Kulturelle und Handelsbeziehungen im frühmittelalterlichen Mittel- und Osteuropa“ (publ. in: *Wosinszky Mór Múz. Évk. XV*, 1990) stattfand.

Von deutscher Seite war die Projektgruppe „Die frühmittelalterlichen Zentren an der Donau. Städtische Topographie, Christentum und Handel zwischen Mitteleuropa und dem Schwarzen Meer“ des Geisteswissenschaftlichen Zentrums Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas an der Universität Leipzig an der Ausrichtung der Tagung beteiligt. Das Tagungsthema ging aus den aktuellen Fragestellungen dieser Projektgruppe hervor, die sich u. a. auf die Rekonstruktion von Prozessen konzentriert, welche die Herausbildung neuer Eliten und Herrschaftsformen an der Grenze zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter begleiteten.

Mit dem Thema „Macht des Goldes, Gold der Macht“ wurde zugleich ein interdisziplinäres Forschungsfeld der Frühgeschichte für die Jahrestagung gewählt. Das Spektrum der Vorträge und die anschließende Diskussion zeugten davon, dass die Frage nach der Verbindung zwischen Herrschaft und Gold für ein nachhaltiges Forschungsinteresse sorgt. Die Tagungsteilnehmer aus den Ländern Mittel- und Ostmitteleuropas haben am Beispiel ihrer laufenden Forschungsprojekte eindrucksvoll die vielseitigen Facetten der Zusammenhänge zwischen Gold und Macht beleuchtet. Der zeitliche und regionale Rahmen reichte dabei von der Latènezeit bis zum 11. nachchristlichen Jahrhundert und von der Ostsee bis zum Schwarzen Meer.

Der Besitz eines Schatzes, eines *thesaurus* bedeutete in den spätantik-frühmittelalterlichen Gesellschaften viel mehr als nur Reichtum. Die Bestandteile des

Schatzes dienten unter anderem als Gaben der Fürsten an ihre Gefolgschaft und waren somit ein wichtiges Mittel, die jeweilige soziale Hierarchie zu regulieren. Zugleich konnten Teile des Schatzes die gentile Identität stärken, indem besondere Objekte bei feierlichen Anlässen zur Schau gestellt wurden, die man mit Erzählungen und Gesängen über vergangene ruhmreiche Ereignissen verband und so der Konstruktion ethnischer Identität und Erinnerung dienten. Gaben galten zudem als ein wichtiges Medium der Diplomatie, wenn man damit Verbündete gewinnen oder drohende militärische Gefahren abzuwenden versuchte oder man damit Friedensschlüsse oder politisch relevante Ehen besiegeln wollte. Auch Roms Politik war über die Jahrhunderte geprägt durch die Vergabe von Geschenken und Tribute an die Barbaren, die zunächst als Gegner, aber später auch als Söldner und Foederaten des Reiches in Erscheinung traten. Die römischen Luxusobjekte prägten nachhaltig den Geschmack der fremden Eliten und führten zu Erscheinungen, die in der Forschung als *imitatio imperii* diskutiert werden. Die Quellen der Archäologie, ob Herrschaftssitze und/oder ökonomische Zentren oder Gräber mit prächtigen Edelmetallobjekten, erlauben in der Regel erst über den Befundkontext einen Rückschluss auf die einstigen sozialen Verhältnisse. In diesem Sinne werden in mehreren Beiträgen des Bandes die gesellschaftliche Rolle und der Einfluss barbarischer Eliten in ihrem eigenen sozialen Umfeld untersucht und zugleich die Frage nach der Art der Verbindungen gestellt, welche die gentilen Spitzen zur Reichsadministration und zum römischen Heer unterhielten. Der römische Einfluss, ob in Form von entwickelten Technologien, Bau- oder Feinschmiedetechniken oder aber auch die Nutzung von Insignien wird anhand mehrerer Beispiele deutlich: nördlich der Donau befinden sich Herrschaftszentren, die nach provinzialrömischem Vorbild errichtet wurden, Keramik- und Metallobjekte zeugen ebenso von römischen Formen wie Ornamente und angewendete Techniken. Goldene Zwiebelknopffibel und Prachtgürtel weisen auf den militärischen Rang ihrer Träger im römischen Dienst hin. Nicht zuletzt sind Münzen aus Edelmetall wichtiges Quellenmaterial im Rahmen der gegebenen Fragestellung und können nach ihrer Verbreitung und Wertigkeit in den jeweiligen regionalen und zeitlichen Rahmenbedingungen befragt werden. Die Analyse der herstellungstechnischen und ornamentalen Merkmale von Einzelobjekten bzw. Fundgruppen können schließlich helfen, den Austausch von Edelsteinen, Gold und Prestigeobjekten zu rekonstruieren und die Rolle der Handwerker und des handwerklichen know-how zu erschließen. Die vorgelegten Aufsätze betonen schließlich, dass nicht allein Goldfunde als Demonstration von Macht gesehen werden dürfen. Auch Lage und Ausbaufornen von Herrschaftssitzen und zentralen Orten können als Ausdruck gesellschaftlichen Ranges angesehen werden und einen indirekten Hinweis auf die ökonomischen Möglichkeiten, auf den Einfluss und die weitreichenden Kontakte ihrer einstigen Bewohner bieten. Die Aufsätze des Sammelbandes zeigen deutlich, dass sich die Quellen aus dem mittleren Donaauraum besonderes gut zur Bearbeitung der gestellten Frage nach dem Verhältnis von Edelmetall und Herrschaft eignen. Die schnelllebigen politischen und sozialen Umwälzungen des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausends fanden hier ihren Niederschlag in Form von reichen Bestattungen und Hortfundten, wie die im Buch behandelten Beispiele aus Mušov, Zohor, Gáva, Untersie-

benbrunn, Žuraň, Hauskirchen, Mikulčice oder Rakamaz zeigen, um nur wenige exemplarisch zu nennen. Auch einer der größten spätrömischen Silberfunde, der sogenannte Seuso-Schatz, dürfte ebenso aus dem Karpatenbecken stammen wie die goldenen Gefäße des spätawarezeitlichen Fundkomplexes von Nagyszentmiklós. Die neuen Ergebnisse eines Wiener Forschungsteams zu diesem Ensemble wurden während der Tagung von Birgit Bühler und Viktor Freiburger vorgestellt, werden aber in Form einer Monographie an anderer Stelle publiziert.

Die Ausrichtung der Tagung wurde durch die großzügige finanzielle Unterstützung der Prähistorischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, des Instituts für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Wien, der Slowakischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Tschechischen Akademie der Wissenschaften sowie des Geisteswissenschaftlichen Zentrums Geschichte und Kultur Ostmitteleuropas an der Universität Leipzig finanziert, wofür wir im Namen der Organisation an dieser Stelle danken möchten.

Einen Dank möchten wir auch den Kolleginnen und Kollegen aussprechen, die sich an der mühsamen Arbeit der Redaktion beteiligten, an Eva-Maria Tepest, Lisa Goldmann und Hans Geisler für die Bearbeitung der deutschen Aufsätze und an Daniela Hofmann für die Korrektur der englischen Beiträge.

Unser Dank gilt nicht zuletzt allen Kolleginnen und Kollegen, die im Rahmen der Tagung ihre Ergebnisse präsentierten im vorliegenden Band zur Diskussion stellen. Wir erinnern uns gern an die entspannte und arbeitsreiche Atmosphäre in Tengelice und hoffen, unsere Gespräche über „Macht des Goldes, Gold der Macht“ künftig fortsetzen zu können.

Leipzig, April 2013

Orsolya Heinrich-Tamáska und Matthias Hardt



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Erwin Gáll

## The Question of Centres of Power in the light of 10<sup>th</sup> Century Necropoles in the Transylvanian Basin – The case of the Cluj necropoles<sup>1</sup>

### On the general characteristics of burial customs

Burial customs are considered the most important elements in the definition of the 10<sup>th</sup> century cultural horizon. Burial customs mainly reflect the emotional reactions of family members, relatives and the community when someone passes away, and the most important condition determining the quality and quantity of grave goods was the wealth of the individual, the family or the community. Certainly in most cases wealth was closely related to the social status of the deceased and is expressed clearly with the quality and quantity of the ritual sacrifices, weapons, clothes and jewellery placed in the grave. We have to bear in mind that the quantity of the objects and sacrifices largely depends on the political or economic situation in a region, the significance of the roads crossing it, or whether it is in a central or peripheral situation. To all these factors, we should add the occasional foreign gifts, which are considerable in some cases and might indicate the political significance of a person or a family.

The various aspects of burial customs are in close connection with the way the mourners express their grief, as the relationship of the deceased person with the mourners was differentiated during their lifetime and maintained thus at the mo-

ment of death. The material results of this psychological situation are the burial customs that can be seen in the graves, and the quality and quantity of grave furnishings connected to them. Therefore, one can not talk about the grief of the mourners in general terms, as it is different each time. Similarly, the assemblage of funerary offerings is also different in terms of its quality and quantity in each and every case. In our opinion, the feeling of grief is the core of the psychological phenomenon in connection with burials. The picture of the netherworld is a complementary element in the process of mourning and burial, which can on the one hand relieve the grief the mourners, while on the other hand influencing burial customs and the various objects placed in the grave (see fig. 1,1).

The archaeologically excavated grave contains the remains of a deceased person or of several people, but the goods found in the grave might relate to how the mourners represent the deceased person's prestige and they can (also) emphasize the importance of the family<sup>2</sup>. It is quite understandable that the mourning community or family wants/wanted the deceased person to appear in shining glory when they escort/escorted him/her on their last journey, in the presence of the local community. So the grave good assemblage, found alongside the deceased person, was meant to indicate the economic po-

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<sup>1</sup> This work was possible with the financial support of the Sectoral Operational Programme for Human Resources Development 2007–2013, co-financed by the European Social Fund, under the project number POSDRU 89/1.5/S/61104.

<sup>2</sup> For example H. HÄRKE, Social analysis of mortuary evidence in German protohistoric archaeology. *Journal Anthr. Arch.* 19, 2000, 369–381; M. PARKER PEARSON, The archaeology of death and burial. Texas A&M Univ. Anthr. Ser. 3 (Texas 2001).

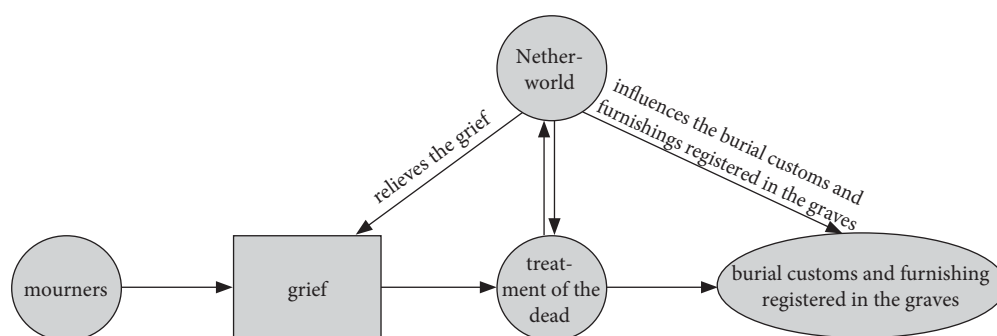


Fig. 1,1 The possible connection between the grief of the mourners and the picture of the netherworld.

tential, welfare, prestige, influence and power of the mourners and their legitimacy, and as a consequence of this the (achieved) social position, status or rank of the deceased person<sup>3</sup>. We can speak of the symbolization of the status of the deceased person, although it must be admitted that this happens in an indirect way. Therefore it might be risky to see grave goods as the concrete reflections of the mobile, frequently changing or stagnating social positions of individuals from different social groups. However, it is undeniable that there must have been a close relationship between them, although, at least in theory, this might not have prevailed into modern times. It can be firmly stated that grave assemblages could symbolize the last status/statuses of the deceased person, and therefore we can talk about a static other-world representation of the statuses the individuals of a society had achieved when they died.

The grave assemblage is only temporarily visible to those who are left behind<sup>4</sup>, but its mnemonic power is undeniable<sup>5</sup>, and this statement definitely applies to 10<sup>th</sup> century weapon burials. In contrast, the surface elements of burials/cem-

eteries, such as topographical location, mounds and so on, and their integration into the landscape do not only affect the landscape itself but also the state and identity of the community. Based on this important social-psychological aspect, the topographical location of the burials seems to be connected to the level of organisation in a community and to symbolise the social differences between communities or groups of people.

However, we have to draw attention to the fact that each society, each community and micro-community construe their own values, including the practices connected to burial customs. Therefore each micro-region, each cemetery and within them every single grave should be analysed in their own context, their 'own world'. Therefore the question arises of whether a warrior can be suspected in each grave with a weapon, or whether this is just a burial custom or a distinct feature of conceptions of the netherworld. At the same time we should pay attention to another potential problem, namely that in the early Middle Ages unfurnished graves might not provide a true reflection of a whole society, but

<sup>3</sup> In this sense we can cite Parker Pearson's words: "Tombs are not just somewhere to put bodies: they are representations of power. Like ritual, funerary architecture legitimizes and extends the hegemonic order" PARKER PEARSON 2001 (note 2) 196.

<sup>4</sup> B. EFFROS, *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 2003) 175.

<sup>5</sup> K. HØILUND NIELSEN, *Animal Art and the Weapon Burial Rite – a Political Badge?* In: C. Kjeld Jensen/K. Høilund Nielsen (eds), *Burial & Society. The chronological and Social analysis of Archaeological Burial Data* (Aarhus 1997) 129–148.



can represent a dynamically changing picture of the afterlife in that society<sup>6</sup>. For instance the Christian egalitarian conception of the afterlife, which led to unfurnished graves, did not mean that Christian societies were poorer than their predecessors<sup>7</sup>. Therefore the goods placed in the graves or left outside them later also indicate the ideological discontinuity of funerary rites in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries.

### **Suggesting a social model: the 10<sup>th</sup> century 'Hungarian' social model**

Status in its abstract meaning is a position in a pattern. Each individual has several statuses, as everyone is part of the materialization of several patterns. The status of an individual hence refers to the sum of all their statuses and each status can be traced back to social patterns<sup>8</sup>. It is an important fact that society has created two types of statuses: the proprietary (e. g. sex, age) and the acquired status (e. g. warrior)<sup>9</sup>, the latter providing a rich source of symbolism also drawn upon in the elaborate burials of the time of the Hungarian Conquest. The factor of the social class or

cast may rarely substitute (if at all) for the gender, the age or the biological relations. The very complicated interplay of the two status types can be observed in the formation of group identities in the early Middle Ages (both ethnic and social)<sup>10</sup>, while at this time the question of ethnic or rather social stratification is also organically interlocked in this process.

Based on the data provided by the sources in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the Hungarian Principedom<sup>11</sup> was run by the so-called 'chiefs', a term used in cultural anthropology and adopted by archaeology, which denotes leaders who inherited their position<sup>12</sup>. The other two fundamental components of the 10<sup>th</sup> century social model are the 'Hungarian' identity which was brought by this very varied people, and the population they encountered and defeated.

Besides this, as a consequence of military ventures and mobility, the so-called big-men model could have also existed<sup>13</sup>, meaning that in some of the 10<sup>th</sup> century military-political structures there could have been leaders who received their position as a result of their individual achievements and not through inheritance. According to the written sources, Bogát, an individual with

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<sup>6</sup> V. MARTHON, La question de l'identité à travers l'étude des pratiques funéraires. In: *Les Petits Cahiers d'Anatole* 19, 2005, 2–14.

<sup>7</sup> A. RUSH, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity* (Washington D. C. 1941).

<sup>8</sup> The role is the dynamic aspect of status; the individual plays a role when acting according to the rights and obligations that make up the social status, see R. LINTON, *The Study of Man: An Introduction* (New York 1964) 113 f.

<sup>9</sup> LINTON 1964 (note 8) 113–115.

<sup>10</sup> S. BRATHER, *Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie. Geschichte, Grundlage und Alternativen*. Ergbd. RGA 42 (Berlin, New York 2004) 173.

<sup>11</sup> On the Hungarian Conquest: Gy. GYÖRGY, *Landnahme, Ansiedlung und Streifzüge der Ungarn*. *Acta Hist. Academ. Scien. Hungaricae* 31, 1985, 231–270; Gy. KRISTÓ, *A honfoglaló magyarok életmódjáról* (On the life of the Magyars around the Conquest). *Századok. A Magyar Történelmi Társulat Folyóirata* 129, 1995, 3–62; M. TAKÁCS, *Három nézőpont a honfoglaló magyarokról* (Three opinions regarding the Hungarian conquerors). *Dolg. az Erdélyi Múzeum Érem- és Régiségtárából*. N. F. 1 (11), Kolozsvár (XI) 2006, 67–98.

<sup>12</sup> According to the written sources, the conquering Hungarians were led by dynasties. Gy. SZABADOS, *Magyar államalapítások a IX–XI. században*. *Szegedi Középkorász Műhely* (Szeged 2011) 10–20; Gy. GYÖRGY, *Államszervezés*. In: Gy. Székely/A. Bartha (eds), *Magyarország története tíz kötetben. Előzmények és a magyar történet 1241-ig* (Budapest 1984) I,1, 717–834. – Therefore we can talk about a ranked society based on kin and/or role, after G. D. BERREMAN, *Social Inequality: A Cross Cultural Analysis*. In: IDEM (ed.), *Social Inequality: Comparative and Developmental Approaches* (New York 1981) 3–40.

<sup>13</sup> M. D. SAHLINS, *Poor man, rich man, big-man, chief: political types in Melanesia and Polynesia*. *Comparative Stud. in Soc. and Hist.* 5, 1963, 283–303.

a Slavic name, could have been such a leader, and based on this it is quite obvious that individuals of Slavic origin also took part in the western or Byzantine campaigns<sup>14</sup>. Concerning these individuals it is important to clarify two things: firstly, their numbers, according to the written evidence, were certainly insignificant<sup>15</sup>; and secondly, with their integration (probably followed by the integration of their material culture) they became so-called ‘conqueror Hungarians’, meaning that they became part of the conqueror elite.

It still remains a question whether the information from the sources, namely the social-military models of these chiefs and big men could be connected to the archaeological sources and if so, how? In the case of which burial could one suppose a chief or a big-man? To this question there is no practical answer, since the archaeological definition of different social structures is relative – what one can observe archaeologically are the rich, richer, poor and poorer burials. It can be considered dangerous to suppose different legal statuses because these are archaeologically hard or even impossible to detect<sup>16</sup>. For example, the Viking word ‘hird’, and the Rus’ ‘družina’ – from a sociological point of view a privileged social-military stratum resulting from military occupation – are mentioned in the sources. But can

such notions of military entourage be linked to the excavated cemeteries from different regions of the Transylvanian Basin from which a great number of weapons were reported?

Another significant question is the notion and status of military entourage and mercenaries<sup>17</sup>. Can the different grave groups be defined in so detailed a manner, and effectively personalized, simply based on the archaeological material? Are there any hints on the basis of which one could outline possibilities? In our opinion, this kind of endeavour is at the moment almost impossible and may be restricted to cases such as the unique grave A from Székesfehérvár-Rádiótelep, for which parallels are only known from outside the Carpathian Basin<sup>18</sup>. It cannot be excluded that the warrior burials 3 and 13 with bow and quiver from cemetery III at Karos were those of mercenaries, who according to the genetic analysis were not related to anyone else from the cemetery but were biologically brothers<sup>19</sup>.

In the case of the social model mentioned above, we tried to illustrate the connection between the types of statuses, their interrelations, and the dynamic social transformation of the conquerors and the conquered in the new geographical-social environment of the 10<sup>th</sup> century by drawing a general picture gained from narrative and archaeological sources (Fig. 1,2).

<sup>14</sup> Z. KORDÉ, Bogát. In: Gy. Kristó (ed.), *Korai Magyar történeti lexikon* (9–14. század) (Budapest 1994) 116.

<sup>15</sup> Gy. KRISTÓ (ed.), *Honfoglalás korának írott forrásai*. Szegedi Középkortörténeti Könyvtár 7 (Szeged 1995); P. LANGÓ, *Amit elrejt a föld ... A 10. századi magyarság anyagi kultúrájának régészeti kutatása a Kárpát-medencében* (Budapest 2007) 13 note 13.

<sup>16</sup> H. STEUER, *Frühgeschichtliche Sozialstrukturen in Mitteleuropa. Zur Analyse der Auswertungsmethoden des archäologischen Quellenmaterials*. *Vorträge u. Forsch.* 22 (Sigmaringen 1979) 595–633 bes. 612; K. MESTERHÁZY, *Társadalmi strukturák régészeti vizsgálata* (Die archäologische Untersuchung der gesellschaftlichen Strukturen). In: L. Novák (ed.), *Az Alföld társadalma* (Nagykőrös 1998) 19–45 here 25.

<sup>17</sup> According to Reuter the only difference between members of the entourage and mercenaries was that the former could be part of the political community which they served, while the latter could not (T. REUTER, *The recruitment of armies in the Early Middle Ages: what can we know?* In: A. Nørgård Jørgensen/B. L. Clausen [eds], *Military Aspects of Scandinavian Society* [Copenhagen 1997] 32–37 here 33).

<sup>18</sup> L. KOVÁCS, *Előkelő rusz vitéz egy székesfehérvári sírban* (A rádiótelepi honfoglalás kori A. sír és kardja). (Ein vornehmer Krieger in einem Grab von Székesfehérvár [Das landnahmezeitliche Grab A von Székesfehérvár-Rádiótelep und sein Schwert]). In: L. Koszta (ed.), *Kelet és Nyugat között. Történeti tanulmányok Kristó Gyula tiszteletére* (Szeged 1995) 291–308.

<sup>19</sup> L. RÉVÉSZ, *A karosi honfoglaláskori temetők. Régészeti adatok a Felső-Tisza vidék X. századi történetéhez* (Die Gräberfelder von Karos aus der Landnahmezeit. Archäologische Angaben zur Geschichte des oberen Theißgebietes im 10. Jahrhundert). *Magyarország honfoglalás kori és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei* 1 (Miskolc 1996) 197 f.

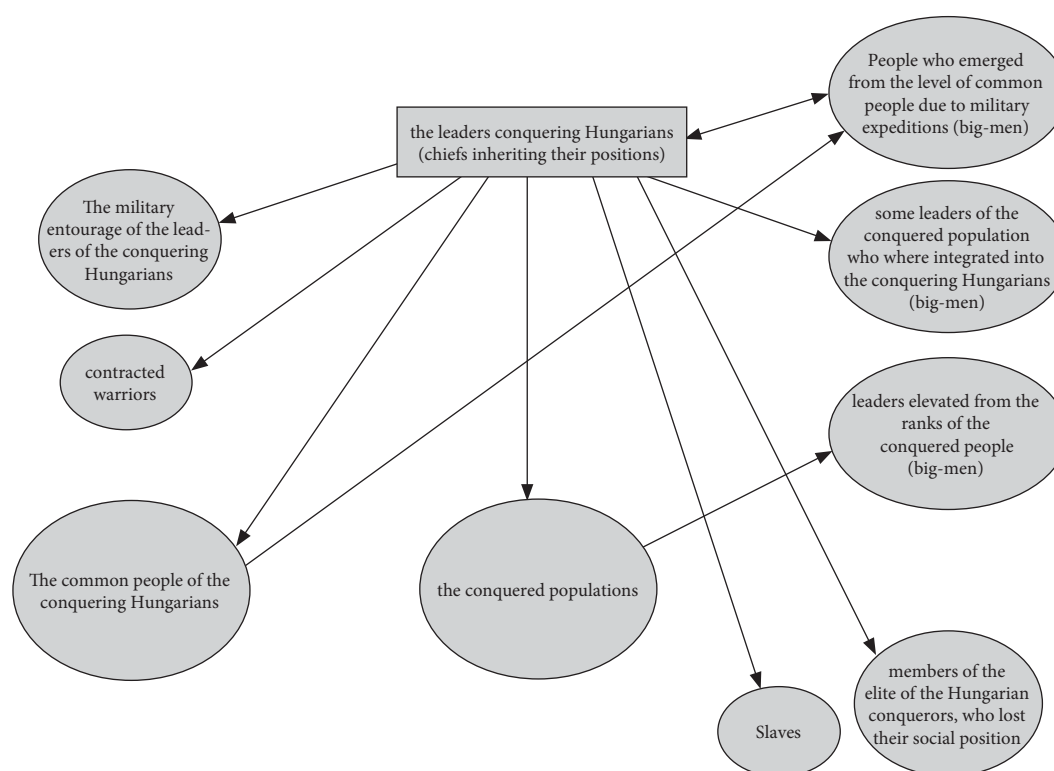


Fig. 1,2 The possible socially dynamic, integrative model of the conquest period.

## On the quantity of weapon burials in the Transylvanian Basin, Partium and Banat

In early medieval societies, male violence is complex and socially embedded. However, violence and the use of weapons were an integral element of masculine personal identity, particularly for elites<sup>20</sup>. Therefore, weapons became an integral part of commemorating personal and group identities. The symbolic significance and mnemonic impact of weaponry could also have derived from the rich and complex decorations applied to weaponry (for example to the sabre from

Vienna or the weaponry from the rich graves from Rakamaz<sup>21</sup>, Karos<sup>22</sup>, Zemplin, etc.<sup>23</sup>). These decorated weapons may have been powerful visual statements of identity<sup>24</sup>. In our opinion, the use of weapons and its prestige influenced these communities' picture of the other world effectively 'militarizing' it.

According to the burial customs of the conquering Hungarians, one of the symbols of male (and) warrior status was the weapon in the grave (as was the case for the whole Early Medieval period), which must have been connected to the concepts and way of thinking of the 10<sup>th</sup> century Hungarians and their image of the other world.

<sup>20</sup> H. ELLIS DAVIDSON, *The Training of Warriors*. In: S. C. Hawkes (ed.), *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford Univ. Committee for Arch. Monogr. 21 (Oxford 1989) 11–24.

<sup>21</sup> I. FODOR, *Rakamaz-Strázsadomb* (a). In: Idem (ed.), *The Ancient Hungarians*. Exhibition Catalogue (Budapest 1996b) 110–119.

<sup>22</sup> L. RÉVÉSZ, *Karos*. In: FODOR 1996b (note 21) 109 f.; RÉVÉSZ 1996 (note 19).

<sup>23</sup> V. BUDINSKY-KRICKA/N. FETTICH, *Das altungarische Fürstengrab von Zemplin*. Arch. Slovaca Monogr. 2 (Nitra 1973).

<sup>24</sup> HØILUND NIELSEN 1997 (note 5).

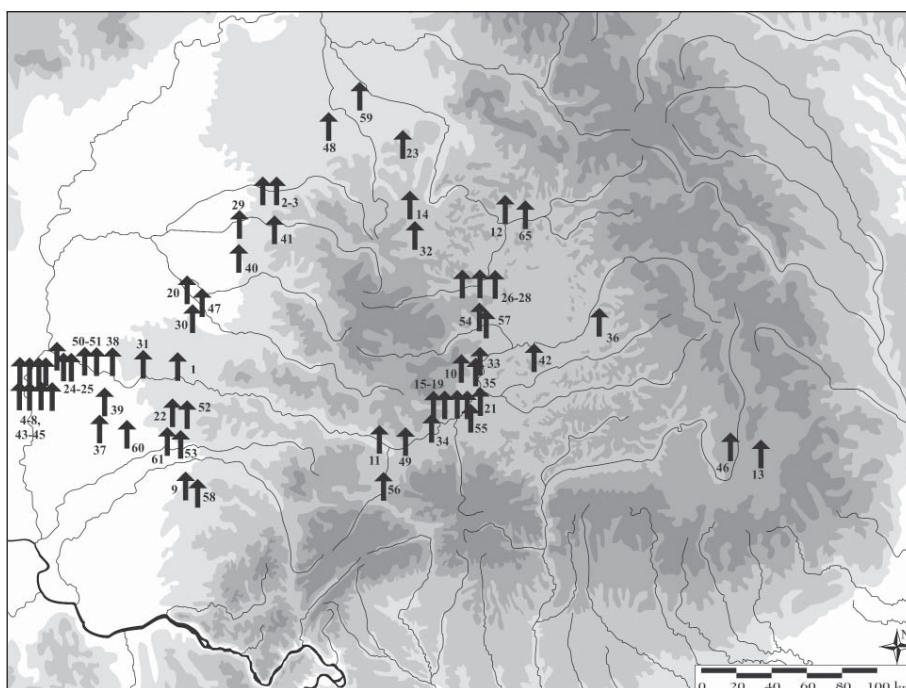


Fig. 2 Weapon burials in Transylvanian Basin, the Partium and the Banat (10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> c.): 1 Arad-Ceala, Arad county; 2–3 Biharea-Somlyóhegy, Bihor county; 4–8 Bukovapusta-Dudeştii Vechi-Mound III, IV, V, VIII, IX, Timiş county; 9 Ciacova-“Gheorghianu” (C. A. P.), Timiş county; 10 Cetea, Alba county; 11 Deva-Micro 15, Hunedoara county; 12 Dej, Cluj county; 13 Eresteghin-Zádogostető, Covasna county; 14 Stăna, Sălaj county; 15–19 Alba-Iulia-Izvorul Împăratului, Stația de Salvare, Vânătorilor street, Apor castle, stray find from 1943, Alba county; 20 Vârşand-Laposhalom, Arad county; 21 Heria, Alba county; 22 Hodoni-Pocioroane, Timiş county; 23 Irineu, Satu Mare county; 24–25 Cheglevici, near the village, Timiş county; 26–28 Cluj-Napoca-Kalevala street Site I, Plugarilor street, Zápolya street, Cluj county; 29 Tărian-Csordásdomb, Bihor county; 30 Macea, Arad county; 31 Pecica-Nagysánc, Arad county; 32 Brăişoru, Sălaj county; 33 Gâmbaş-Kiss Magura, Alba county; 34 Blandiana-cemetery “B”, Alba county; 35 Aiud, near the town, Alba county; 36 Ernei, Mureş county; 37 Comloşu Mare, Timiş county; 38 Nădlac-Ţiglărie, Arad county; 39 Tomnatic-Kleine Hügel, Timiş county; 40 Salonta-Halom domb, Bihor county; 41 Oradea-Salca terrace, Bihor county; 42 Poiana Aiudului, Alba county; 43–45 Dudeştii Vechi-mound I, VI, Dragomir’s mound, Timiş county; 46 Sfântu Gheorghe-Epreşteţ, Covasna county; 47 Şiclău-Gropoiaie, Arad county; 48 Sălacea-Vidahegy, Bihor county; 49 Orăştie-Dealul Pemilor X2, Hunedoara county; 50–51 Cenadu Sârbesc, territory of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Timiş county; 52 Murani, Timiş county; 53 Timişoara-Csóka erdő, Timiş county; 54 Cheile Turzii, Alba county; 55 Oiejdea, Alba county; 56 Hunedoara-Kincseshegy, Hunedoara county; 57 Moldoveneşti-Gábor Jósika’s garden, Cluj county; 58 Voiteg, Timiş county; 59 Vetiş, Satu Mare county; 60 Jimbolia, Timiş county; 61 Săcălaz, Timiş county.

In the Transylvanian Basin, the Partium and the Banat we analyzed weapon finds from different aspects in 22 stray finds and in 130 graves out of the 2047 ones excavated in 35 sites, using different methods. It shows that in the burial places of the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century Transylvanian Basin, the Partium and the Banat weapon burials can-

not be considered characteristic (Fig. 2)<sup>25</sup>. We have drawn up a three-group chronological order of known cemeteries:

Group 1: 10<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries: weapons were found in 97 out of the 1109 graves in 25 cemeteries (8.74 %);

<sup>25</sup> E. GÁLL, A honfoglalás- és kora Árpád kori temetők és szórványleletek elemzése az Erdélyi-medencében, a Partiumban és a Bánságban (The analysis of 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century burial sites and stray finds in Banat, Partium and the Transylvanian Basin). PhD-dissertation I–III of the Eötvös Lóránd Univ. of Budapest, 2008 (Vol. I.: [http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/hist/index.html\[20.03.2012\]](http://doktori.btk.elte.hu/hist/index.html[20.03.2012])) Fig. 232.

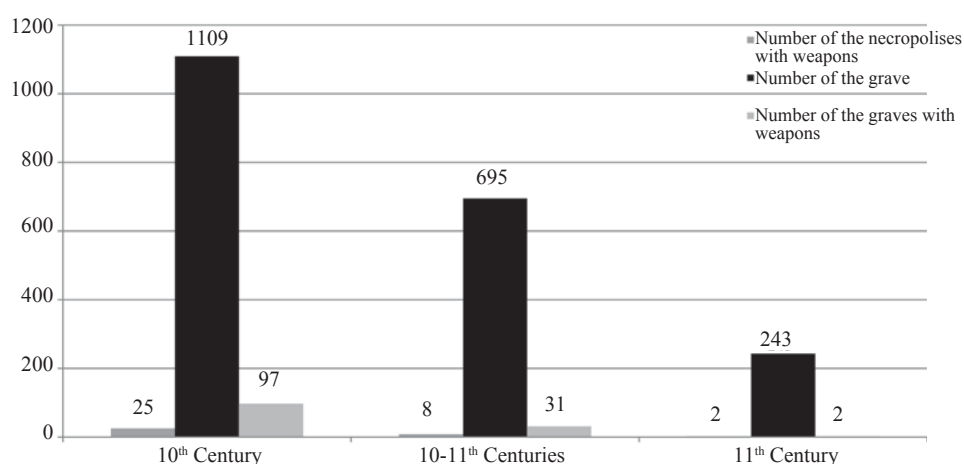


Fig. 3 Weapon burials from the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries in Transylvania, the Partium and the Banat.

Arrow heads	Quiver	Bow	Saber	Sword	Axe	Lance
362	46	23	16	13	12	2

Fig. 4 The number of weapon finds from the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries in Transylvania, the Partium and the Banat.

Group 2: cemeteries from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries: weapons were found in 31 graves<sup>26</sup> out of the 695 in 8 cemeteries (4.46 %);

Group 3: in cemeteries that can surely be dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, arrowheads were found only in one grave among the 57 graves in the Hunedoara cemetery, and in another one in the Alba Iulia-Vânătorilor Street cemetery section (0.82 %).

In the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries, weapon burials in Transylvania, the Partium and the Banat show a decrease as Christianity was gaining ground. The same tendency can be seen in the case of horse burials, which are also considered a pagan custom<sup>27</sup>. To sum it up, out of the 2047 reliably documented graves 130 can be considered

weapon burials from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, which is 6.35 % (Fig. 3). The table shows the statistics, based on the finds excavated so far (Fig. 4).

Three weapon categories (bow, sabre, lance) were only found in graves, whereas four categories (sword, axe, arrowhead and quiver) are known both from graves and from single finds. It is curious that there are twice as many swords in stray finds as there are in graves.

Based on the data shown above, the conceptual background of weapon burials can be explained by several reasons, which can be in close connection with one another in many cases. As noted before, in the case of early medieval society violence and the use of weapons was an integral ele-

<sup>26</sup> The three-edged arrowhead found in grave 6 at Sălacea-Vidahegy killed the person, therefore it cannot be counted as a weapon burial. GÁLL 2008 (note 25) 314 note 1740, see also 325, 329 and 333.

<sup>27</sup> L. RÉVÉSZ, Archaeological heritage of the ancient Hungarians. In: FODOR 1996b (note 21) 43; Sz. SZUROMI, A templom körüli temetkezés a középkori egyházfegyelm tükrében (12–13. század). (Burials in the churchyard as reflected in medieval church discipline [12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c.]. In: Á. Ritoók/E. Simonyi (eds), A középkori templom körüli temetők kutatása. Opuscula Hungarica 6 (Budapest 2005) 9–12. – For the Transylvanian Basin: E. GÁLL, The analysis of churchyard cemeteries in Transylvania from the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. From the pagan cemetery to the Christian churchyard. Preliminary results. Transilvanian Review 19, Suppl. 5 (2010) 265–289.



Sites and no. of grave	Arrowhead	Quiver	Bow	Saber	Sword	Lance	Axe	Horse burials	Age
Cluj-Plugarilor street grave 4	x (?)	x	x	x					35–39 years
Cluj-Plugarilor grave 6	x (2)								50–59 years
Cluj-Plugarilor grave 10	x (?)	x	x						50–59 years
Cluj-Plugarilor grave 11	x (6)								40–59 years
Cluj-Plugarilor grave 12	x (1?)		x						23 (?) years
Cluj-Plugarilor grave 14	x (1)								6–8 years
Cluj-Plugarilor grave 15							x		8–10 years
Cluj-Plugarilor grave 16	x (1)								6–8 years
Cluj-Plugarilor grave 20	x (2)								10–12 years
Cluj-Plugarilor grave 22	x (6)	x	x	x					40–59 years
Cluj-Plugarilor grave 25	x (?)	x	x	x				x	60–65 years
Cluj-Plugarilor grave 26	x (1)								25–39 years (woman)
Cluj-Zápolya grave 1	x (?)	x		x				x	?
Cluj-Zápolya grave 4	x (6)	x	x	x				x	?
Cluj-Zápolya grave 6	?	x		x				x	20–40 years
Cluj-Zápolya grave 10	x (10)	x		x				x	35–40 years
Cluj-Zápolya grave 11	x (?)	x		x				x	?
Cluj-Kalevala grave 1 (disturbed)		x		x					
Cluj-Kalevala grave 3 (disturbed)				x					

Fig. 5 Weapon burials in the Cluj necropoles.

ment of masculine personal identity and socio-political affiliation, particularly for elites<sup>28</sup>.

Taking into consideration the chronological and historical context, those cemeteries where weapons of different categories were found in a high percentage of the graves may be connected to a group of professional warriors where this is supported by anthropological data. In contrast, when only small numbers of the same type of low quality weapon (e. g. arrowheads) are found in a small percentage of the graves, it cannot be excluded that this symbolises the status of

free adult (age) males (gender). The scanty arrowheads found in male, female or child graves can (also) be explained by religious reasons.

Therefore, in our opinion, in the case of the communities of the conquering Hungarians in Transylvania, the Partium and the Banat in the 10<sup>th</sup> century the placement of weapons of different categories in the graves, which is a consequence of the burial rites, can be traced back to varied conceptual reasons. The possibilities constructed in our categorisation are only theoretical<sup>29</sup>: professional warrior status (the acquired, achieved

<sup>28</sup> DAVIDSON 1989 (note 20) 11–24.

<sup>29</sup> Likewise, H. HÄRKE, Warrior graves? The background of the Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite. Past and Present 129, 1990, 22–43.

status), social status (which is an inherited or achieved status-symbolization), the status of free male, religious reasons, or an emphasis on group (ethnic) identity, all of which are linked to each other<sup>30</sup>.

### **On the quantity of weapon burials from the Cluj necropoles: Weapon burials and the question of their status**

In our research area, the cemeteries in Cluj (Kalevala, Plugarilor and Zápolya street<sup>31</sup>) exhibit the most complex concentration of weapons. These cemeteries stand out not because of their richness in precious metals, but through the amount and variety of different weapon categories. Of the forty graves from these three cemeteries, eighteen (i. e. 47.50 %) contained weapons, a figure unparalleled in other micro-regions of the Carpathian Basin (Fig. 5).

Therefore the weapons recorded in the male and even the female and child graves represent the primary and most general symbols of the individuals of the Cluj community. The connection between certain items of material culture and the symbolisation of individual status, the effect they have on one another and the interdependency of individual status symbols and their importance in creating group identities are shown in a chart (Fig. 6).

It is also difficult to research the complicated issue of how the statuses mentioned above (either proprietary or achieved) were symbolised in the grave in the case of these cemeteries. At any rate,

it can be firmly stated and clearly seen in the data sheet that the most significant characteristics of male graves are the horse-weapon burials and the big proportion of sabres in the graves. This concentration of weapons can be explained by the difference or aggregation of the statuses of the buried individuals or by weapon symbolism (adult, warrior male), which can be connected to the prevalent model of the afterlife, imagined as being as hierarchical as this one. In the case of weapons of different kinds, it is not clear whether a particular status was indicated by all the weapons together, or whether each item indicated a separate status.

On the one hand, the great proportion of sabres in the Cluj graves might indicate the special status of the individuals with sabres compared to those without sabres, while on the other hand, compared to the small proportion of sabres in other (micro)regions, it could indicate the special status of the communities in Cluj<sup>32</sup>. It can also be noticed that the quality of some grave goods (Plugarilor street grave 25<sup>33</sup>) might have indicated the advanced age of the person in the grave; in this case ornamented sabres, belt with mountings and ornamented mount sabretaches can be associated with his military(?) or community(?) leading status or his age. This assumption seems to be supported by the fact that in the case of two elderly men only arrowheads were found, so this assemblage cannot be explained only as a symbolisation of age. Alongside the status of the warrior, we can suspect another status that was also achieved. This can be suggested in the case of grave 11 in Zápolya Street<sup>34</sup>, which was unfortunately looted.

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<sup>30</sup> LINTON 1964 (note 8) 113 f.

<sup>31</sup> E. GÁLL/B. GERGELY/Sz. GÁL, La răscruce de drumuri. Date arheologice privind teritoriul oraşului Cluj-Napoca în secolele X–XIII. (At Crossroads. Archaeological Data concerning the Territory of Cluj-Napoca City in the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries). (Cluj-Napoca 2010) 125–139.

<sup>32</sup> We consider it important to note that the sabre would have been a considerable outlay for the deceased family or micro-community (if it was not a gift), therefore it was also a significant symbol of power and/or rank.

<sup>33</sup> GÁLL/GERGELY/GÁL 2010 (note 31) 129.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 137–139, Pl. 33–37.

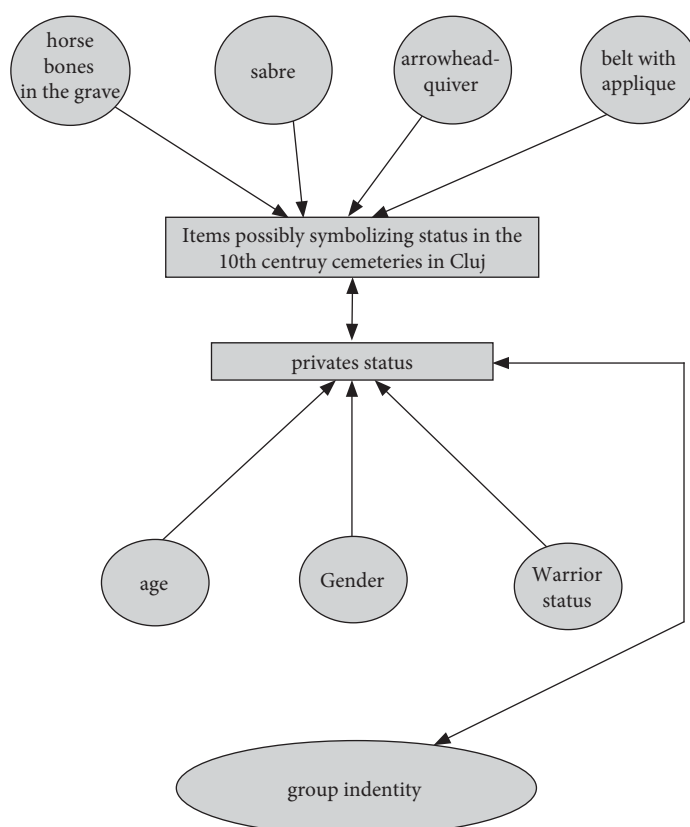


Fig. 6 Artefacts as individual status symbols and in relation with group identity.

Even if the presence of weapons in child burials (three graves) can sometimes be explained by spiritual reasons, it is evident that in the life of these communities the weapon played an important role not only as an object but also as a symbol (Fig. 7a–b).

As has been mentioned, in the study area, the most complex concentration of weapons is known from the graves of the Cluj cemeteries (sabres, reflex bows, quivers, arrowheads). This observation also seems to be supported by anthropological data. Grave 25 from Plugarilor Street, which contained one of the most complex weapon collections, was the burial of a 60–

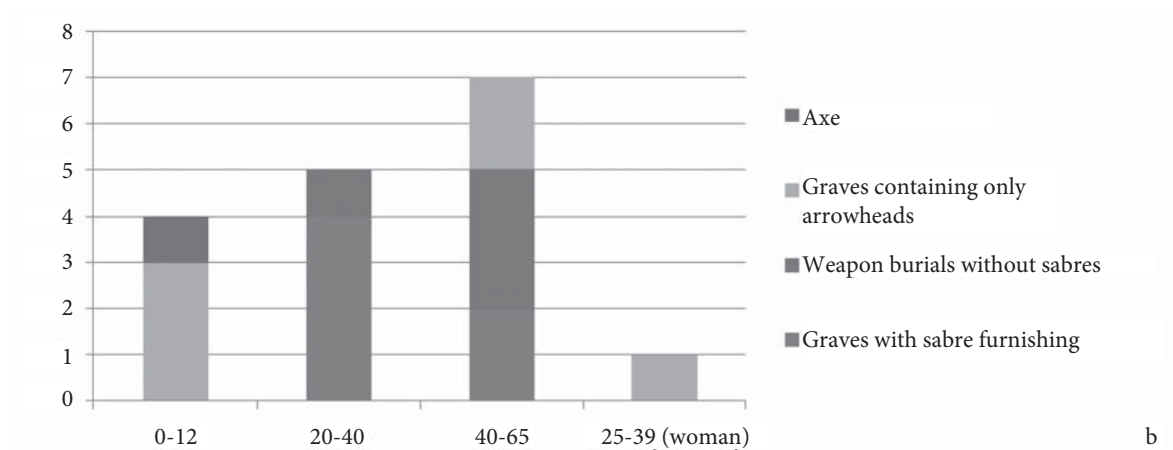
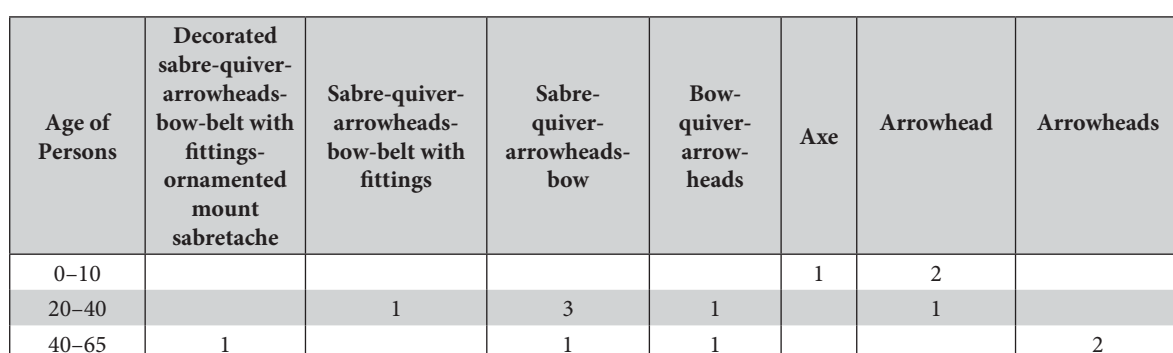
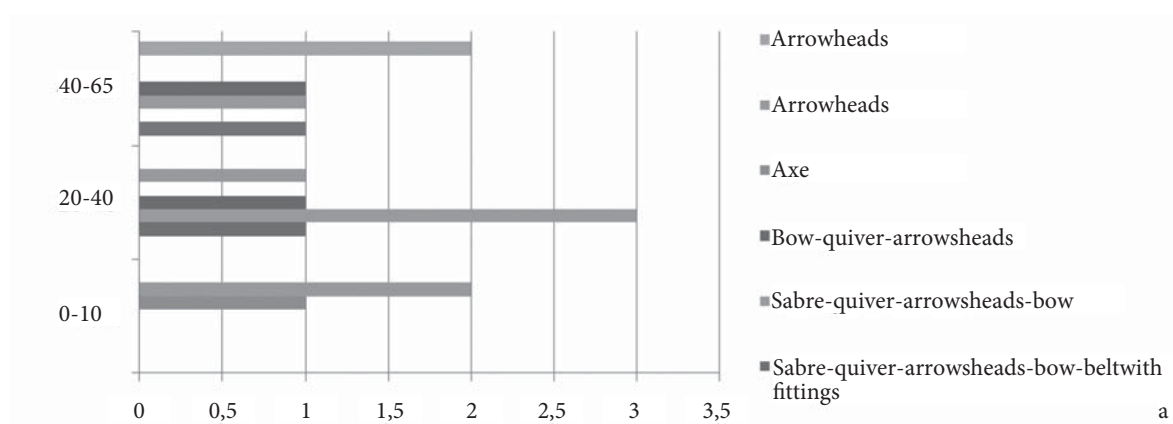
65 year old man. In this case it is questionable whether we can speak of a warrior or whether these weapons merely reflected the individual's social status. In contrast, the weapons with the mature individuals from graves 4, 11–12 and 22 from this cemetery and graves 4, 6 and 10 from Zápolya Street<sup>35</sup> can be connected to a warrior status (Fig. 8).

However, Antónia Marcsik could not observe any deformation on the skeletons in the cemetery in Plugarilor Street which could be caused by physical work. This might indicate a warrior status for the male members of this community<sup>36</sup>. On the left leg of the skeleton from grave 10

<sup>35</sup> E. GÁLL et al., Analiza mormântului 10 din necropola de la Cluj-strada Zápolya (Dostoievski, gen. Traian Moşoiu). *Mat. şi Cerc. Arhe.*, N. Ser. 5, 2010, 133–153.

<sup>36</sup> A. MARCSIK, Studiul antropologic al scheletelor descoperite în cimitirul de secol X din Cluj-Napoca, str. Plugarilor (Anthropological Study of Human Skeleton discovered at the 10<sup>th</sup> Century Cemetery from Str. Plugarilor, Cluj-Napoca). *Acta Mus. Napocensis*, Ser. Hist. 39–40, 2002–2003, 83–90 here 88.





Age of Persons	Graves with sabre furnishing	Weapon burials without sabres	Graves containing only arrowheads	Axe
0-12			3	1
20-40	4	1		
40-65	2	3	2	
25-39 (woman)			1	

Fig. 7a-b Number of weapon burials and their comparison with age at death in the Cluj necropoles (Kalevala street, Plugarilor street and Zápolya street).

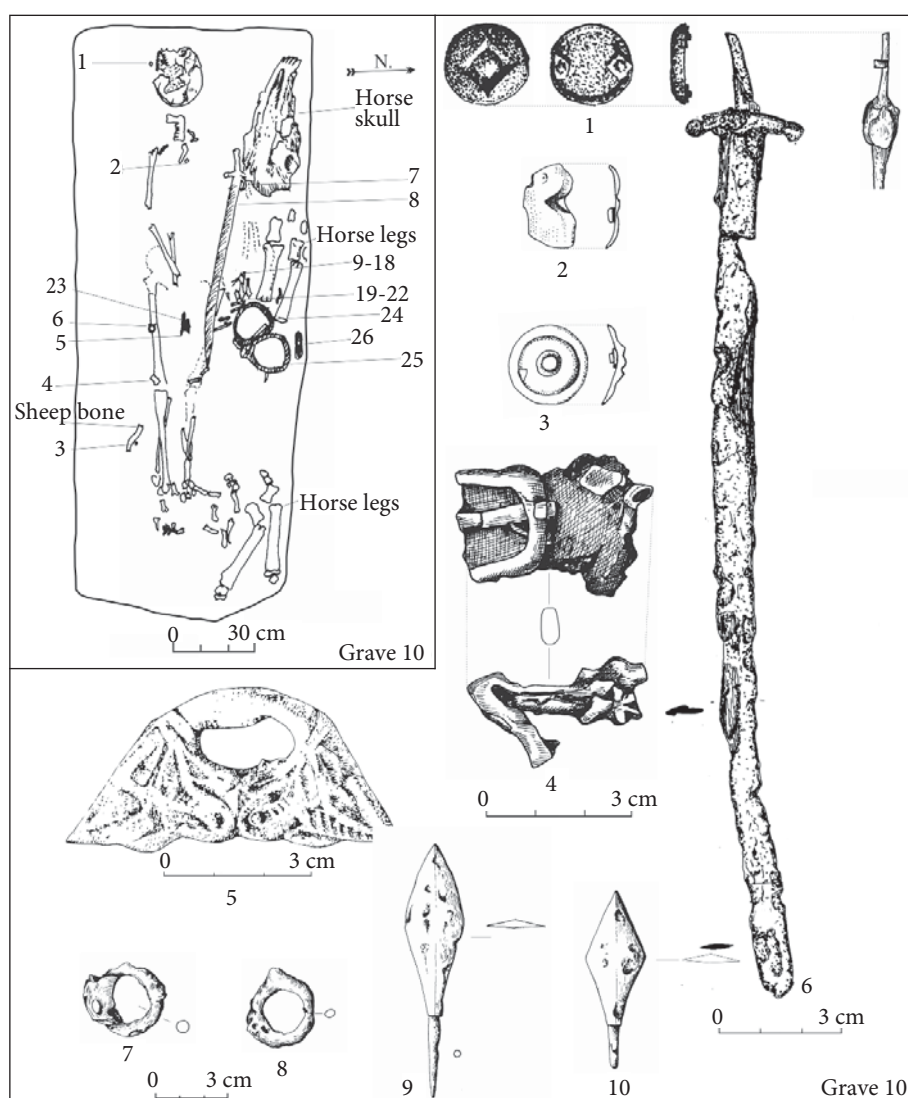


Fig. 8 Cluj-Zăpolya street, grave 10: 1-3 Appliques; 4 Buckle; 5 Quiver ear mounting; 6: Sabre; 7-8 Sabre suspension rings; 9-10 Arrowheads.

in Zăpolya Street, traces of a fracture have been observed by Szilárd Gál<sup>37</sup>. Independently of this, Mátyás Vremir identified traces of a similar fracture on the left leg of the horse<sup>38</sup>. It is worth mentioning that traces of a cut can be seen on the skull of a person in grave 22, Plugarilor street (Szántó utca), although he survived the blow. On the other hand, Antónia Marcsik could not detect any traces of cuts or other wounds on the remains of the male skeletons<sup>39</sup>. Does this indi-

cate that this period was peaceful in the northern regions of the Transylvanian Basin? At the same time, Antónia Marcsik draws attention to the fact that the advanced age of several skeletons<sup>40</sup> might indicate that the standard of living of this community could have been above average compared to other Transylvanian communities. This is based on the amount of protein gained from meat, which can only be explained by their special status.

<sup>37</sup> GÁLL et al. 2010 (note 35) 143.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>39</sup> MARCSIK 2002–2003 (note 36) 88.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

In sum, it can be stated that the great concentration of weapons in the Cluj cemeteries might be the result of the mixed symbolic expression of adult male status (as a proprietary status) and warrior status (achieved). It proves one thing: weapons and especially sabres indicated a personal status, which became a symbol creating group identity here. The assumption that sabres indicated a social-military status is supported by the fact that these are ornamented and were found in the richest 10<sup>th</sup> century graves.

Among the weapons, the sabre and later the sword were accorded special attention, which can be explained by several factors. Firstly, among the 10<sup>th</sup> century weapons in the Carpathian Basin only these were ornamented with gold, silver and bronze accessories. Graves containing such items are the richest 10<sup>th</sup> century male graves, whose concentration in the Upper Tisza region (Karos, Rakamaz, Zemplin) led László Révész to suppose that the first main centre of the conquering Hungarians was here in the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>41</sup>. Secondly, sabres and swords as important symbols of a person's rank are mentioned in 11<sup>th</sup> century written sources. The so-called Vienna Sword, kept in the *Schatzkammer*, could have been such a symbolic weapon<sup>42</sup>.

In recent years, weapons have been interpreted differently. In the exhibition catalogue published in the mid 1990s and in the chapter on sabres in László Révész's book, those buried with sabres are seen as a 'military retinue' buried in cem-

eteries, where a high percentage of graves with weapons of this kind were found<sup>43</sup>.

We therefore tried to compare this with the frequency of ornamented belts in the Carpathian Basin, as these are thought to be another symbol of rank:

Group A: Ornamented belts are much more common grave goods in the Carpathian Basin than sabres. Large numbers of graves with sabres were found in some particular areas and cemeteries, while in other areas they are less common or completely unknown<sup>44</sup>.

Group B: 34 graves contained ornamented belts (a number which could still grow) but no weaponry, making it implausible that they were connected with the military hierarchy; instead, ornamented belts might have indicated individuals' socio-economic position<sup>45</sup>.

Based on the anthropological analysis conducted after the excavations of the Karos and Kenézlő cemeteries, it can be observed that those who wore sabres were mature or old<sup>46</sup>.

Examining another aspect of this phenomenon leads to interesting discoveries. Among the individuals wearing only ornamented belts, there were people of different ages. Mentioning only burials of younger individuals, one can list graves 2 and 35 in cemetery II of Karos and grave 6/31 in cemetery 2 of Kenézlő, where those girdled with ornamented belts were still children<sup>47</sup>. A juvenile rested in grave 14, cemetery II of Karos (his grave good assemblage consisted of an

<sup>41</sup> RÉVÉSZ 1996 (note 19) 198–206.

<sup>42</sup> I. FODOR, Vienna sabre. In: IDEM 1996b (note 21) 67–71.

<sup>43</sup> RÉVÉSZ 1996 (note 19) 184.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 46.

<sup>45</sup> E. GÁLL, Tipologia mormintelor de secol X cu însemne de rang din bazinulcarpatic (Rank denoting objects and the structuring of the Hungarian society of the conquest). Buletinul Cercurilor Științifice Studentești. Arheologie – Istorie – Muzeologie 7 (2001) 121–150 here 129 f.

<sup>46</sup> Graves 5, 6 and 20 in cemetery 2 in Karos with their senilis individuals belong to this group, as well as the mature persons in graves 41 and 36. The age of the person in the latter grave is not known exactly, but he could not have been an infant. Also, in cemetery 2 at Kenézlő individuals with sabres must have been either mature or old people. There was a mature person in grave 10 in Zápolya Street, Cluj (35–40 years old); a matus I (between 35–39 years of age) in grave 4 at Szántó Street, Cluj; a matus II–senilis I (40–59 years old) in grave 22, and the skeleton of a senilis (60–65 years old) in grave 25. The person buried in grave 11 at Blandiana was also senilis (MÁRCSIK 2002–2003 [note 36] 83–90; GÁLL et al. 2010 [note 35] 143).

<sup>47</sup> RÉVÉSZ 1996 (note 19) 16, 20; N. FETICH, Adatok a honfoglaláskor archaeológiájához. Arch. Ért. 45, 1931, 48–112 here 86 Fig. 62.

ornamented belt, a bow and arrows)<sup>48</sup>. Similar weapons accompany the ornamented belt in grave 20/45 in cemetery 2 of Kenézlő, where the person is described as a young man<sup>49</sup>. Similarly, the grave of a young boy with an ornamented belt was found in Vereb<sup>50</sup>. The grave of the young man in Gnadendorf (14 years old) contained a sabre with precious metal accessories along side an ornamented belt, but since this embellished weapon was worn it might not actually have belonged to him and might also have represented the inherited position and prestige of the family, besides the youth's achieved status (warrior)<sup>51</sup>. The theory of 'bodyguard' or 'military retinue' (warrior) status elaborated by László Révész, according to which this status could have been symbolised by the sabre, can be applied to cemeteries in the Upper Tisza region<sup>52</sup> or in the Cluj region (where sabres were found in 10 out of 40 graves<sup>53</sup>); however, sabres in other areas should probably be interpreted in a different way, although it is still impossible to give a final answer. It is not known whether they signified military rank or social position or both, rather than achieved status.

These suggestions and observations are supported by Niklas Stjerna's comments. He expressed the opinion that the swords found in graves in Uppland and Västmanland prove that "the control of gift-production was in the king's inter-

est"<sup>54</sup>, i. e. these weapons were the symbols of an achieved status in the Scandinavian world, too.

#### A quantitative survey of the sabre finds in the cemeteries in Cluj and in the Carpathian Basin

It is true that the cemeteries in Cluj were excavated only partially<sup>55</sup>, but still this tendency stands out clearly. In what follows, we wish to exemplify our statements with a statistical comparative analysis of the cemetery burials and the number of sabres from the Upper Tisza region<sup>56</sup>. We are aware of the relative value of this analysis, but as has been repeatedly highlighted<sup>57</sup> during the analysis of the finds from the Cluj cemeteries, the similarity of the material from the cemeteries of the two regions cannot be denied (Fig. 9). The comparison showed that the percentage of sabres in the Cluj cemeteries can correspond approximately to those of the Upper Tisza region, but also differs in many cases. A similar concentration of sabres cannot be identified anywhere else in the Carpathian Basin. How could this phenomenon be explained? Can we identify a phase in scholarship or is it really a 10<sup>th</sup> century sociological or ethno-cultural phenomenon? Not denying the difficulties of the first possibility, based on the excavations it seems that in the

<sup>48</sup> RÉVÉSZ 1996 (note 19) 17 f.

<sup>49</sup> FETTICH 1931 (note 47) 94 Abb. 75–76.

<sup>50</sup> J. ÉRDY, A verebi pogánysír. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Évk. 9, 1858, 9, 14–27; K. MESTERHÁZY, Vereb. In: FODOR 1996b (note 21) 375 f.

<sup>51</sup> László Révész suggested that the sabre with the worn silver accessories was used for several decades: L. RÉVÉSZ, Honfoglalás kori sír az alsó-austriai Gnadendorfban. Csodaszarvas, II, 2006, 3–40 here 17; F. DAIM/E. LAUERMANN (eds), Das frühungarische Reitergrab von Gnadendorf, Niederösterreich. Monogr. RGZM 64 (Mainz 2006).

<sup>52</sup> RÉVÉSZ 1996 (note 19) 198–206.

<sup>53</sup> GÁLL/GERGELY/GÁL 2010 (note 31) 116 Fig. 53.

<sup>54</sup> N. STJERNA, Viking-age weapons found in Eastern Middle Sweden. In: L. Holmgvist Olausson/M. Olausson (eds), The Martial Society. Aspect of warriors, fortifications and social changes in Scandinavia (Stockholm 2009) 125–132 here 128.

<sup>55</sup> GÁLL/GERGELY/GÁL 2010 (note 31) 15–22.

<sup>56</sup> The following sabre finds were omitted from the analysis: Demecser-Borzsova puszt (2 sabres), Rétközberencs-Paromdomb (1 sabre), Beregszász (2 sabres), Szolyva (1 sabre); RÉVÉSZ 1996 (note 19) 180–185.

<sup>57</sup> RÉVÉSZ 1996 (note 19) 123, 185.

Cemetery	No. of graves	Number of burials with saber – percentage rate in the respective cemetery
Karos I–III cemetery	105 graves	11 sabers (10,47 %)
Kenézlő I–II cemetery	50 graves	5 sabers (10,00 %)
Rakamaz-Strázsadomb	9+10 graves	1-saber, 1-sword with saber grip (10,52 %)
Szabolcsveresmart-Szelérd hill	8 graves	1-saber, 1-sword (25 %)
Tiszacsoma	60 graves	1-saber, 1-sword, 1-sword with saber grip (5,0 %)
Tiszaeszlár-Bashalom II cemetery	13 graves	3 sabers (23,07 %)
Tiszabездé	17 graves	3 sabers (17,64 %)
Kál-Legelő	68 graves	2 sabers (2,94 %)
Miskolc-Repülőtér	25 graves	1 saber (4,00 %)
Püspökladány-Eperjesvölgy	640 graves	2 sabers (0,31 %)
Sárrétudvar-Hízófold	262 graves	2 sabers (0,76 %)
Csongrád-Vendelhalom	50 graves	4 sabers (8,00 %)
Eger-Szépasszonyvölgy	33 graves	2 sabers (6,06 %)

**Fig. 9** The number of graves with sabres and the quantity of sabres in the Upper Tisza and other regions of the Carpathian basin (after NEPPER 2002 [note 57]; FÜREDI 2003 [note 57]; M. PÁRDUCZ/L. TÁRY, A Csongrád-vendelhalmi honfoglaláskori lelet [Les trouvailles de Csongrád-Vendelhalom de l'époque de la conquête du pays hongrois]. *Folia Arch.* 1–2, 1939, 189–199; L. RÉVÉSZ, Heves megye 10–11. századi temetői [Die Gräberfelder des Komitates Heves im 10.–11. Jahrhundert]. *Magyarország honfoglaláskori és kora Árpád-kori sírleletei* 5 [Budapest 2008]).

fully excavated cemeteries of other regions, this percentage rate of sabres is unparalleled<sup>58</sup>.

At the same time, it is essential to clarify another fact: in Bodroghöz, respectively in the cemeteries of the Upper Tisza region, the number of sabres (thanks to the state of research) is larger than in the Cluj cemeteries; this also goes for gold artefacts found in graves, particularly the quantity of gilded silver objects, which bear witness to the importance of the two regions. However, the importance of these regions in the first two thirds of the 10<sup>th</sup> century cannot be compared in any way.

## The issue of the conquered people

It is also necessary to address the issue of the conquered population in our analyses. Unfortunately, there is a complete lack of cemeteries or settlements in Cluj from the time preceding the 10<sup>th</sup> century conquest, and there are no 10<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries other than the ones mentioned above.

Settlements dating from the 7–9<sup>th</sup> centuries, alongside cremation and biritual burial grounds, are known in the micro-region of the Little Someş<sup>59</sup>. The Slavonic toponyms in the region

<sup>58</sup> For example, among the 68 burials from the cemetery of Káli in north Hungary, a total of two sabres were found; out of the 640 burials of the cemetery in Püspökladány-Eperjesvölgy, two burials with sabres were identified; similarly, out of the 262 burials of Hízófold in Sárrétudvar, two burials had sabres (I. M. NEPPER, *Hajdú-Bihar megye 10–11. századi sírleletei* [Die Grabfunde aus dem 10.–11. Jh. im Komitat Hajdú-Bihar]. *Magyarország honfoglaláskori és kora Árpád kori sírleletei* 3 [Budapest, Debrecen 2002] 87, 221; Á. FÜREDI, *Honfoglaláskori temető Kálon* [Cemetery in Kál from the age of the Hungarian conquest]. *Békés Megyei Múz. Közl.* 24–25, 2003, 331–351).

<sup>59</sup> Cremation cemeteries: Someşeni, Jucu, Dăbâca. Settlements and finds indicating settlements: Cluj-Mănăştur, Jucu, Dăbâca, Iclodu Mare. The analysis of the settlements of this area and the collection and analysis of excavated sites dating from the 6<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries are currently being carried out by I. Stanciu (Inst. of Arch., Cluj-Napoca) and the Author.



of Cluj<sup>60</sup> can be connected to this, so it can be assumed that the population practicing cremation burials (the Slavs) and the conquerors, who arrived in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, were in contact. The conquering Hungarians of the 10<sup>th</sup> century did not destroy this population, but integrated them into the economic structure as a conquered population. The more exact archaeological identification of this population remains the objective of future research.

### **The functional contact of the Cluj micro-region's political-military centre and the supposed political-military centre in the Upper Tisza region**

At the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the Hungarians who conquered the Carpathian Basin created a complicated political-military set-up, in which so-called 'warrior society' communities also took part. Apart from them, there were social classes leading a settled lifestyle focused on agriculture, commerce etc.<sup>61</sup> It is important to note that production is the base of a society's growth and the possibilities provided by the natural resources and the geographical location of the populated area have a huge impact on this. The settled communities of the Carpathian Basin could not support the prestige values of the military communities conquering the Carpathian Basin; the raiding campaigns to the west and in Byzantium, which lasted through two generations, were the consequence of this economic situation. It can be considered the motive for these raids.

In the interpretation of the centre-periphery model, prestige values, such as the acquisition and ownership of symbols of economic and social status, were mainly the results of political, military and social phenomena, processes and actions. The chronological analysis of the 10<sup>th</sup> century finds carried out so far has allowed us to detect the concentration of items indicating a social status (ornamented sabres, studded belts, ornamented mount sabre taches<sup>62</sup>) in a core region, the Upper Tisza. However, the finds also suggest several possible peripheral centres existing alongside<sup>63</sup>, and there could have been areas dependent on these centres, forming a functional unit (Fig. 10).

If the 10<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries are projected on a map showing the cremation and biritual sites dating to the 7–9<sup>th</sup> centuries, they clearly complement each other very well geographically. The Arab written source from around 920 AD fits in well, stating that "the Hungarians continuously beat the Slavs, who live near them. They impose severe food taxes on them, treating them as captives"<sup>64</sup>. The sites whose geographical locations complement one another in Figure 10 can be evaluated from this perspective. In the case of the Transylvanian Basin, this would mean that its eastern regions could have been the peripheral zones of the possible western Transylvanian centres, as supported by the Arab sources and the archaeological data summarised above.

Another question is the system of dependency between the various micro-regional centres and the supposed main political-military-economic centre in the Upper-Tisza region, and what archaeological remains of this can be detected.

<sup>60</sup> J. HEREPEI, Kolozsvár történeti földrajza (Kolozsvár 2004) 13.

<sup>61</sup> The same amount of grave goods can be observed in the graves of almost all funerary site types (single graves; small, middle and large sized cemeteries). Therefore, it is not correct to identify cemeteries as connected to social classes (cemeteries of ordinary people, or the middle class). For further detail see GÁLL 2008 (note 25) Fig. 295.

<sup>62</sup> Their assumption, see RÉVÉSZ 1996 (note 19) fig. 79.

<sup>63</sup> A similar centre is suspected to have existed in the Middle Tisza region or in the Little Plain, see L. MADARAS, Szolnok Lenin Tsz. (Ugar) 10. századi temetője (Jász-Nagykún-Szolnok megye 10. századi leletei és azok történeti tanúságai). In: M. Wolf/L. Révész (eds), A magyar honfoglalás korának régészeti emlékei (Miskolc 1996) 65–116.

<sup>64</sup> Citation after KRISTÓ 1995 (note 14) 33.

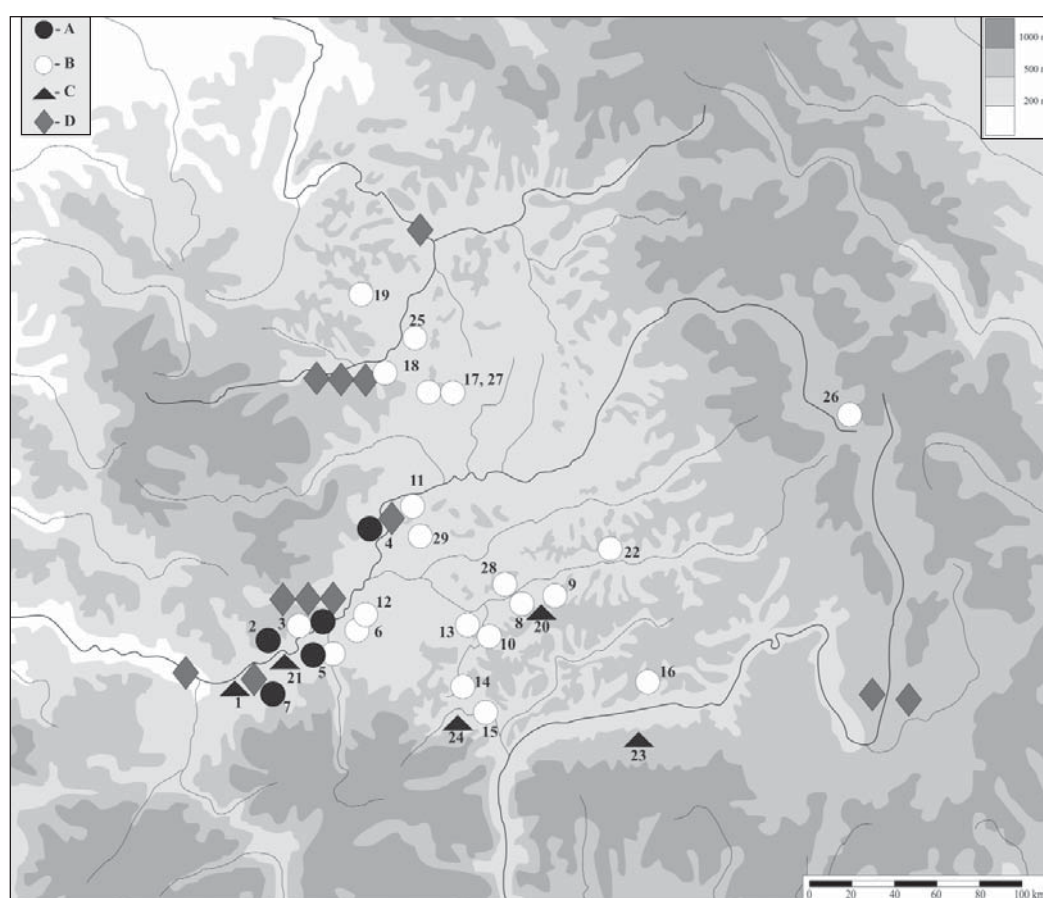


Fig. 10 Cemeteries, settlements and stray finds dating from the 7<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries and the cemeteries of the warrior class in the period of the Hungarian Conquest: A 9<sup>th</sup> century sites with inhumation burials; B biritual cemeteries dating from the 7<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries; C 9<sup>th</sup> century stray finds; D Cemeteries of the class of warriors in the 10<sup>th</sup> century; E settlements dating from the 7<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Certainly, the dynamics of the political-military system must not be left out of this analysis, as with a change of the political-military situation new centres could have appeared, or others could have taken over the leadership of the areas mentioned above, or a situation of polyfunctionality could develop.

Returning to the issue of the Cluj micro-region, we have to investigate what functional contacts the finds and burial rites of the Cluj cemeteries

might refer to, compared to the finds from cemeteries in the political-military centre (Fig. 11).

The connection of the cemetery finds and the burial customs have been the subject of several previous studies<sup>65</sup>, so I only mention a few results here:

1 Each item has its parallel in the Upper Tisza region<sup>66</sup>, and parallels for some items and their ornamentalations are only known from there<sup>67</sup>;

<sup>65</sup> E. GÁLL/B. GERGELY, Kolozsvár születése. Régészeti adatok a város kora középkori történetéhez (The Birth of Cluj. Historical Data Related to the City's History from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> Century). (Kolozsvár 2009) 31–35, 55–57, 81, 91 f., 115 f.; GÁLL/GERGELY/GÁL 2010 (note 31) 31–35, 55–57, 81, 91 f., 115 f.; GÁLL 2008 (note 25) Vol. I, 405–412.

<sup>66</sup> GÁLL/GERGELY/GÁL 2010 (note 31) 108 f.

<sup>67</sup> Namely the stirrup with inlaid ornamentation and the leaf-shaped caparison ornaments from grave 11. GÁLL/GERGELY/GÁL 2010 (note 30) Pl. 36–37.

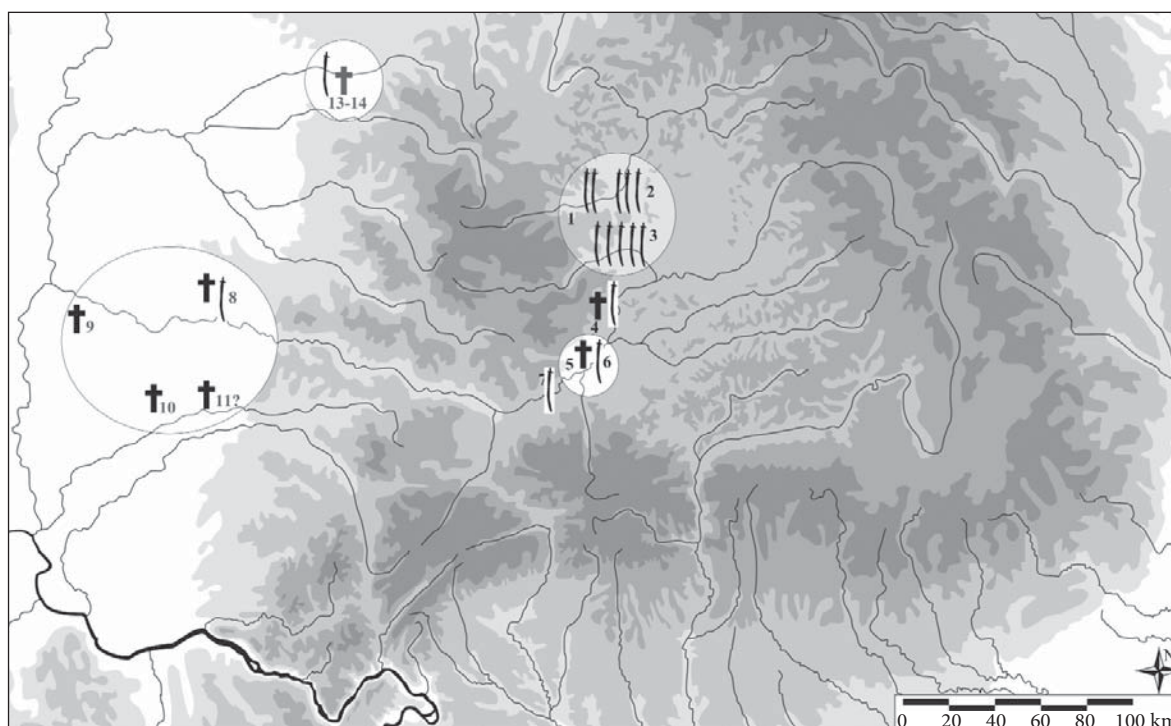


Fig. 11 Possible centre of power and sabre/sword finds from the eastern part of the Carpathian Basin in the 10<sup>th</sup> century: 1 Cluj Napoca-Kalevala Street I; 2 Cluj Napoca, Plugarilor Street; 3 Cluj Napoca, Zápolya Street; 4 Gâmbaş-Kiss Magura; 5 Alba-Iulia, Izvorul Împăratului; 6 Alba-Iulia, stray find; 7 Blandiana-cemetery "B"; 8 Arad-Ceala; 9 Cheglevici-near the village; 10 Jimbolia; 11 Săcălaz; 12 Biharea-Somlyóhegy; 13 Biharea-fortres.

2 The proportion of horse burials in the Cluj cemeteries and especially in the Zápolya Street cemetery is similar to that of the Upper Tisza region;

3 As has been mentioned, the proportion of sabres found in graves is similar to their proportion in graves of the Upper Tisza region.

All this may point to the conclusion that the power centre of the Cluj micro-region (which in my opinion is indicated by these cemeteries) might have been a peripheral centre of the Upper Tisza region.

### Some provisional conclusions

As I have mentioned, grave goods are funerary elements 'temporarily' visible to those participating in the funeral, so they have a purpose to

strengthen the memory of the deceased person, while on the other hand they are material representations of social structure as it was imagined by the community. In the analysis of this social phenomenon involving three actors (the deceased person, the mourners, and the members of the [micro]community) in the Cluj cemeteries, we drew the following conclusions:

1 The large proportion of weapon burials and especially of sabres, which are rarely found in other regions, is the (funerary) materialisation of a special group identity;

2 In contrast to the assumptions mentioned above, we can draw some conclusions suggesting a heterogeneity based on the burial rites: all types of horse burial can be found in the Cluj graves (types II, III, and IV) except for the symbolic types I and V<sup>68</sup>. The stone placed under the

<sup>68</sup> On the 10<sup>th</sup> century horse burials in the Carpathian Basin, see: Cs. BÁLINT, A honfoglalás kori lovastemetkezések néhány kérdése (Über die Pferdebestattungen der Landnahmezeit). Móra Ferenc Múz. Évk. 1969,1, 107–114.



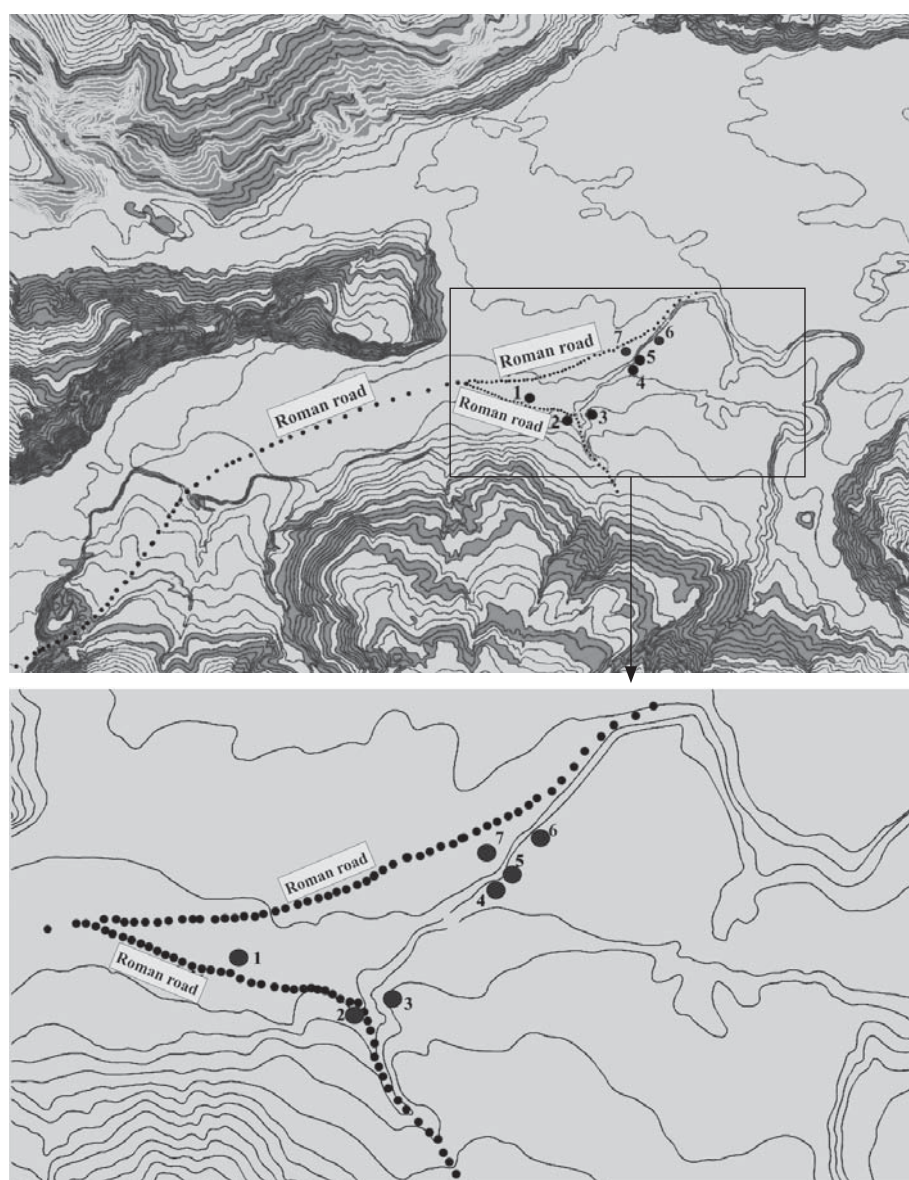


Fig. 12 The topographical situation of the necropoles from Cluj in the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the Roman road: 1 Farkas street; 2 Heltai street; 3 Plugarilor street; 4 Zápolya street; 5 Kalevala street, site I; 6 Kalevala street, site II; 7 Fluturilor street.

skull in Grave 4 in Zápolya Street is a custom unknown in other graves either with weapons or without them. The male skulls from Graves 4, 6, 10 and 22 from Plugarilor street show common taxonomic features in contrast to the skull of the person buried in Grave 25 which has the richest furnishing, and these differents to the skull from 10 grave from Zápolya street, underpinning the assumption that those resting in these graves were not biological relatives.

These two observations concerning the Cluj communities might lead to the supposition that, firstly, the area of the Little Someş might have been occupied by a population with various burial traditions, which might indicate the varied origin of this population. This is quite firmly supported not only by archaeological but also anthropological research<sup>69</sup>. Secondly, the sabre is the primary status symbol in the graves of mature males and can be identified as a symbol

<sup>69</sup> MARCSIK 2002–2003 (note 26) 88 f.

creating group identity. From these observations concerning the professional warrior class of the 10<sup>th</sup> century power centre, one can see a greatly varied population with individuals of different origins. These communities are organised here, in the Cluj region, and their statuses are indicated by the weapons placed in their graves.

The formation of the military centre which presumably existed and its causal background in the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century can be connected to two important factors. Firstly, the military surveillance of the trade routes coming from the northern part of the Carpathian Basin towards the south. This road could probably have integrated the southern parts of the Carpathian Basin, and especially of the Transylvanian Basin,

with eastern networks. The problematic dirham find in Sighetul Marmăției<sup>70</sup> could refer to the existence of such a road leading towards the south. Secondly, we can see the archaeological legacy of the leaders of the military centre, of bodyguards, simple warriors and their siblings, who were settled here for the military supervision of the communities who worked the salt mines around Cluj. The topographical position of the cemeteries makes this situation even more unequivocal: these sites are situated on the higher terraces of the Someș River along the Roman roads<sup>71</sup>, which indicates the continuity of infrastructure. From there, they could control the whole Someș valley (Fig. 12).

### Summary

The great concentration of weapons from 10<sup>th</sup> century cemeteries in Cluj attests the important role this weapon category may have played in the community and its mnemonic qualities. The large quantity of weapons in general and specifically of sabres may indicate that the members of a professional warrior class could have been buried here. The varied types of horse burial suggest the heterogeneous traditions of this community and the many sabres, which are rare in other regions, may be the funerary expression of a special group identity. These communities were organised here, their group identity developed here. These communities may have been connected to a power centre that existed near Cluj.

The formation of the presumed power centre and its causal background in the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century can be connected to two important factors: 1 The military surveillance of the trade routes leading from the northern part of the Carpathian Basin towards the south; 2 The archaeological traces of the leaders of the military centre, the bodyguards, simple warriors and their siblings, who were settled here for the military supervision of the communities working the salt mines around Cluj. The topographical position of the cemeteries makes this situation even more unequivocal: these are situated on the higher terraces of the Someș River along the former Roman roads, from where they could control the whole Someș valley.

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<sup>70</sup> We thank Kovács László, who informed us about this find.

<sup>71</sup> A section of a Roman road used as late as the 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries was found on the edge of Cluj in the territory of the Polus Center, on the road towards Oradea, a few metres away from a 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century cemetery. See S. MUSTĂȚĂ et al., *Cercetări arheologice preventive la Florești–Polus Center, jud. Cluj* (2007) (Rescue excavations at Florești–Polus Center, Cluj county [2007]). (Cluj–Napoca 2009) 223–243; D. ALICU (ed.), *Polus. Istorie pierdută. Istorie regăsită* (Cluj–Napoca 2008) 9 f.

### **Zusammenfassung**

#### **Die Frage der Machtzentren im Spiegel der Gräberfelder des 10. Jahrhunderts im siebenbürgerischen Becken – der Fall der Nekropolen von Cluj**

Die große Konzentration der Waffengräber (vor allem Säbel) in den Gräberfeldern des 10. Jahrhunderts aus der Umgebung von Cluj/Klausenburg weist auf die bedeutende Rolle der Waffen sowie auf deren besondere Funktion im Leben der Mitglieder der hiesigen Gemeinschaften hin. Dies spiegelt sich auch in den Grabsitten wieder. Die Waffenbeigabe und vor allem der Säbel ist ein Hinweis auf einen Krieger. Die verschiedenartigen Grabsitten sind durch die verschiedenen Formen der Pferdebestattung dargestellt, während die große Anzahl an Säbeln als Ausdruck einer speziellen Gruppenidentität betrachtet werden kann. Diese Gemeinschaften wurden hier organisiert bzw. haben eine spezielle Gruppenidentität entwickelt, die möglicherweise in Verbindung mit einem Machtzentrum des 10. Jahrhunderts aus der Umgebung von Cluj/Klausenburg stand.

Die Entstehung eines Machtzentrums in der ersten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts wurde durch zwei Faktoren begünstigt: zum einen durch die militärische Kontrolle des Weges von Nord- nach Südsiebenbürgen und zum anderen durch den archäologischen Nachweis von Anführern, ihres Gefolges und deren Söldnern, welche die Gemeinschaften, die an der Ausbeutung der Salzbergwerke aus der Umgebung von Klausenburg beteiligt waren, kontrollierten. Die topographische Lage dieser Gräberfelder zeigt eindeutig, dass sie an der Kreuzung von ehemaligen römischen Straßen, auf den oberen Terrassen des Somesch von wo das ganze Tal überwacht werden konnte, angelegt worden waren.

